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Democracy and the Party System in the United States: A Study in Extra-Constitutional Government. By M. OSTROGORSKI. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910. Pp. 455.)

This book is an abridgement of the second volume of Ostrogorski's *Democracy and Political Parties* published in 1902. For the most part the work has been done by simply leaving out about one half of the material of the earlier volume and adding only such words and phrases as are required to make the proper connection, though in a few places new paragraphs are inserted by way of recognition of recent developments in party conflicts, and passages are added dealing with primary elections, the initiative and referendum, the recall and the commission form of city government. At the end of Chapter XIV several new pages appear descriptive of certain changes in party leadership effected by President Roosevelt and Mr. Hearst and the accompanying great civic revival.

The abridgement is much more readable and interesting than is the larger work. Freed from that excessive reiteration of essentially the same idea which marred the original volume, it fulfills a real need and should be widely read. Its appearance is, in a sense, timely. At no time since the Civil War has our party system been in a state of such hopeless confusion as now. As a dual party system it is not now working effectively, since each of the nominal parties is divided into opposing factions. Between the old parties there are no clearly definable issues and large classes of our citizens have become distrustful of the system. There are at hand also available substitutes for party government. If now it should come to pass that the dual party system both in the United States and in England should collapse and democracy should become permanently adjusted to other and more effective forms of action, then M. Ostrogorski would almost inevitably be looked upon as an inspired prophet of a new and better order. Among the many critics of the party system no other author has devoted to it a quarter of a century of such elaborate and painstaking study, and no other has arrived at such an assured conviction that in the interest of democracy party government should be eradicated root and branch. If, however, as is more probable, party government shall continue for an indefinite future, it still is a decided advantage that its weak points be exposed by such a profound scholar and sympathetic student as is M. Ostrogorski. To his lasting credit it should stand that he was among the first of the students of politics

to give proper emphasis to dynamic forces as against static institutions; and still further, he it was who actually hit upon the party system as furnishing the most available material for the study of political dynamics. Before the appearance of Bryce's *American Commonwealth* Ostrogorski had begun his profound and searching investigations into the party method of government as seen in England and America, and was publishing their results.

To this task he brought the high ideals of the impartial scientific observer. We read in his preface his opinion that a knowledge of political forces is to be acquired "in the same way that the forces of nature are ascertained; both of them are apprehended only in a state of motion which must be observed." We may well believe that our author exercises the scientific spirit and observes the scientific method in the recording of the things which he actually saw and heard. But in dealing with opinions, motives and purposes, things which he never saw either in motion or at rest, he is not at all scientific. He brings to his work a strong anti-theological bias; he vastly over emphasizes the likeness of a political party to a church; and his writing is itself an example of the same political or theological method which in theory he seems to condemn. His temper and manner are those of an advocate rather than a scientific expositor. Thus might speak an inspired prophet to whom had been revealed a clear vision of a future and more perfect democracy entirely freed from the trammels of the party system. The contrast in style between the political advocate and the scientific expositor may be clearly seen by comparing Ostrogorski's writings with Bryce's *American Commonwealth*. Mr. Bryce maintains the scientific spirit both in the recording of facts and in the formation of opinions. He consciously refrains from reaching permanent conclusions. He did indeed bring home from his first visit, eighteen years before he wrote, "a swarm of bold generalizations." But half of these he threw overboard upon his return ten years later. Again, on a third visit, his conclusions were still further depleted. . . . While writing the book a hundred times he became disheartened on account of the facts he was recording. A hundred times the recollection of other facts chased away these tremors. Mr. Bryce distinctly determined not to become an advocate, but rather to enter into the life of the nation to the extent of his ability and make full and accurate report of his experiences. If the time should ever come when this method is all

that political exigency requires, when advocacy and persuasion are no longer needed then we may agree with Ostrogorski that the party system is an anachronism.

JESSE MACY.

The Conflict of Color. By B. L. PUTNAM WEALE. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910. Pp. 341.)

In this his latest volume Mr. Simpson undertakes a more ambitious task and covers a wider field than in his former publications. It is no less than a philosophy of history and an analysis of world-wide racial relations that he attempts. He combats the narrowness of the ordinary European historic view; to him in the past, as it will be in the future, contrasts of color are the really fundamental facts in history. The book begins with a general introduction of nearly one hundred pages in which the author, basing himself upon Allison, Lodge, and more especially on Mahan, develops his historical philosophy which he summarizes as follows "By his conquest of the sea, the white man gathered wealth from far and wide and shook off his provincialism. Knowledge naturally followed; with knowledge came power; and this power led to his world dominion." The author also believes that the equality between Europe and Asia which once existed will surely be reestablished. While it is of course impossible for the author to touch any subject without illuminating it, the value of this long introduction is open to doubt. Outside of the idea of the persistent equality of Asia and Europe no new thought is advanced, and the chapter is full of statements in which a desire for picturesqueness leads to curious distortions of fact. Thus the statement that "Confusius had been teaching for many years before Athens and Sparta were even mud villages" gives rise to a suspicion that the author has not given very serious attention to Greek history and development. He certainly undervalues the importance of the Greek element in European civilization. That Greece was the country where humanity first became conscious of itself, where political individualism first appeared, though with the accompaniment of slavery, is nothing to the author; and the destinies of Europe seem to him not to have been involved in anything the Greeks did. A great many judgments are pronounced in this chapter which would not readily be adopted by historical scholars. Incidentally